

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 ABF-01 OMB-01
TRSE-00 /075 W

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O P 112215Z APR 78 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7805
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 4543

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, S6(WA, NI
SUBJECT: NUJOMA TALKS

1. SUMMARY---AT OBASANJO'S REQUEST SAM NUJOMA AND COLLEAGUES
CALLED ON ME THIS AFTERNOON. THEY REPEATED FAMILAR ARGUMENTS
CONCERNING THEIR DIFFICULTIES WITH THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS.
THEY EXPRESSED ANNOYANCE THAT THE PROPOSALS HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THE
SECURITY COUNCIL, ARGUING THAT THIS WAS PREMATURE PENDING COMPLE-
TION OF THEIR OWN CONSIDERED ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSALS. THEY
PROMISED THIS ANALYSIS "SOON." THEY SAID SWAPO WOULD BE PLEASED AT
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ANY TIME TO DISCUSS THE PROPOSALS WITH THE CONTACT GROUP AND/OR
WITH SOUTH AFRICA ON A "PROXIMITY" BASIS OR FACE TO FACE. NUJOMA
WILL BE IN LAGOS FOR ABOUT A WEEK. HE THEN GOES TO NEW
YORK. END SUMMARY

2. SAM NUJOMA SHOWED UP IN LAGOS TODAY
FROM BELGRADE. AT SUGGESTION OF OBASANJO WITH WHOM HE HAD MET

EARLIER THIS AFTERNOON, HE STOPPED BY EMBASSY THIS AFTERNOON TO SEE ME. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THREE LIEUTENANTS, INCLUDING KAPUKA NAUYALA AND KAONDYA KAMBALA, AND ESCORTED BY MEA AFRICA DEPARTMENT DEPUTY DIRECTOR FAFOWARA.

3. FAFOWARA OPENED CONVERSATION BY SAYING THAT OBASANJO HAD SUGGESTED THAT NUMOMA TELL ME THAT SWAPO IS READY FOR FURTHER TALKS WITH CONTACT GROUP. OBASANJO HAD TOLD NUJOMA I COULD TRANSMIT THIS MESSAGE TO SECRETARY VANCE, ALONG WITH ANY OTHER VIEWS SWAPO MIGHT HAVE REGARDING THE REVISED CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS.

4. NUJOMA SAID THAT SWAPO WAS INDEED READY TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS AT ANY TIME. HE CLAIMED THIS HAD ALWAYS BEEN THE CASE, EVER SINCE THE SOUTH AFRICANS BROKE OFF TALKS IN FEBRUARY WITH THEIR WALK-OUT IN NEW YORK. HE DENIED HE HAD BEEN INACCESSIBLE, HAVING BEEN IN LUSAKA UNTIL MARCH 31 WHEN HE LEFT ON HIS TRIP TO INDIA, BAGHDAD, AND BELGRADE. HE MAINTAINED THAT HE HAD INFORMED THE CONTACT GROUP OF HIS PLANS. MOREOVER, EVEN THOUGH HE HAD BEEN TRAVELING, HIS STAFFS WERE ALWAYS PRESENT AND AVAILABLE IN SWAPO OFFICES IN LUSAKA AND NEW YORK. FINALLY, HE NOTED THAT ON RECEIVING THE REVISED CG PROPOSALS MARCH 31, HE HAD SENT AN OFFICIAL LETTER SAYING SWAPO WOULD STUDY THEM AND

MAKE A WRITTEN RESPONSE AVAILABLE THROUGH SWAPO'S NEW YORK OFFICE. THIS WAS STILL THE CASE.
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5. I REPLIED THAT IT WAS MY IMPRESSION THAT PRESS REPORT HAD PERHAPS GIVEN A FALSE IMPRESSION OF SWAPO'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PROPOSALS. NUJOMA REFERRED TO AMBASSADOR MCHENRY'S LETTER TO HIM ON THIS MATTER. HE SAID "AFTER ALL, WE HAVE NOT HAD THESE PROPOSALS VERY LONG AND WE MUST STUDY THEM CAREFULLY - WE ARE DOING THAT." WHEN I ASKED HIM HOW SOON THE CONTACT GROUP MIGHT EXPECT TO RECEIVE HIS RESPONSE, HE REPLIED, "SOON". HE REFUSED TO BE DRAWN OUT ON WHETHER IT WOULD BE BEFORE OR AFTER THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S SPECIAL SESSION ON APRIL 24. HE REITERATED THAT SWAPO WOULD BE PLEASED TO RENEW CONVERSATIONS ABOUT THE PROPOSALS WITH THE CONTACT GROUP OR WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS OR BOTH. TALKS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS COULD BE ON A "PROXIMITY" BASIS OR FACE TO FACE.

6. NUJOMA SAID THAT THERE WERE STILL MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS FOR SWAPO IN THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS. THEY INCLUDED LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, THE ROLE OF THE JURISTS, THE AUTHORITY OF THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE VIS-A-VIS THAT OF TEYN, AND WALVIS BAY. HE POINTED OUT THAT SWAPO HAD ALREADY DEMONSTRATED FLEXIBILITY BY COMPROMISING ITS ORIGINAL VIEWS ON THE PRINCIPLE (AND NUMBER) OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS STATIONS IN NAMIBIA DURING THE PERIOD PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT SOUTH

AFRICAN TROOPS, HOWEVER, ALONG THE NORTHERN BORDER, NOR COULD THEIR NUMBERS EXCEED 1500. HE MAINTAINED SWAPO HAD SIMILARLY DEMONSTRATED A WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE WITH REGARD TO THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS (ALTHOUGH HE REFERRED ONLY TO 12 DETAINED OUTSIDE OF NAMIBIA). IN A RATHER DIFFUSE EXPLANATION OF HIS VIEWS ON THE PANEL OF JURISTS, HE SAID IT SHOULD BE UNDER THE FULL CONTROL OF THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND APPOINTED BY HIM.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 4543

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

"WE KNOW THE SOUTH AFRICANS WANT THEIR WON JUDGES, THE SAME FELLOWS WHO SENTENCED OUR COMRADES TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH." WHEN I ASKED NUJOMA HOW HIS VIEWS DIFFERED FROM THE SPECIFIC TERMS OF THE CG PROPOSAL, JAUYALA ADMITTED THAT THEY WERE NOT FAR APART. WITH REGARD TO THE ROLE OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, NUJOMA WANTED HIM CLEARLY TO CONTROL THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE GENERAL. AS FOR WALVIS BAY, SWAPO COULD NEVER ACCEPT ANY PROPOSAL THAT DID NOT MAKE CLEAR THAT WALVIS BAY MUST BE PART AND PARCEL OF NAMIBIA.

7. IN RESPONSE, I REHEARSED SOME OF THE SAME LINES OF ARGUMENT
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THAT AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAD PRESENTED TO NUJOMA IN HIS LAST CONVERSATION WITH HIM. NUJOMA LISTENED GLUMLY. IN FACT, HIS WELLKNOWN SMILE WAS NOTICEABLY ABSENT DURING MOST OF THE CONVERSATION.

8. I TOLD NUJOMA THAT THE CONTACT GROUP HAD SUBMITTED ITS REVISED PROPOSALS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON APRIL 10. HE APPEARED NOT TO HAVE KNOWN OF THIS. HE AND NAUYALA EXPRESSED CONCERN AND ANNOYANCE, ARGUING THAT IT WAS PREMATURE FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO SEIZE ITSELF OF THESE PROPOSALS PRIOR TO FURTHER CONTACT GROUP NEGOTIATIONS AND SWAPO'S THOROUGH STUDY OF THE REVISED PROPOSALS. HE SAID THAT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES SWAPO WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO "COOPERATE" WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL. NUJOMA WAS UNIMPRESSED BY MY ARGUMENT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO MOVE AHEAD RAPIDLY LEST SOUTH AFRICA PROCEED WITH SOME KIND OF INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE ARGUED THAT NO ONE WOULD ACCEPT SUCH A SETTLEMENT. IT WOULD BE EMPTY AND MEANINGLESS. I REPLIED WITH THE ANALOGY OF THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE PROPONENTS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN FOR RHODESIA IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS AMONG THE SALISBURY TALKERS. NAUYALA EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT PRESENTATION OF THE CG PROPOSALS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL MIGHT IMPLY THAT THE CG WAS WASHING ITS HANDS OF THE MATTER. NUJOMA EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE WORK DONE BY THE CG AND SAID IT SHOULD CONTINUE TO CARRY ON WITH ITS PROPOSAL. I SAID IT WAS MY PERSONAL VIEW THAT PRESENTATION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL NOW WAS INDICATIVE OF CONTACT GROUP CONCERN THAT THE PROPOSALS CONTINUE TO MOVE FORWARD RAPIDLY. IT DID NOT MEAN THAT THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD ABANDON ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AS LONG AS THEY SAW REAL OPPORTUNITY OF SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS. I KNEW, HOWEVER, THAT THE CG WAS ANXIOUS TO RECEIVE SWAPO'S AND SOUTH AFRICA'S DEFINITIVE VIEWS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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9. I TOLD NUJOMA THAT THE NAMIBIAN CHURCH LEADERS HAD JUST ISSUED A PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL. HE DIDN'T BITE SO I DIDN'T PURSUE IT.

10. NUJOMA IS PLANNING TO REMAIN IN LAGOS FOR ABOUT A WEEK AS GUEST OF THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT. HE THEN PLANS TO PROCEED TO NEW YORK FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION.

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